

Message Text

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TO OAU COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL DURBAN IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: RH, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: SENATE DEFEATS HELMS AMENDMENT,
PASSES CASE-JAVITS

1. THE SENATE VOTED JULY 26 TO REJECT AN ATTEMPT TO AMEND
THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE AUTHORIZATION BILL IN ORDER TO LIFT
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IMMEDIATELY US SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA. IT PASSED IN-
STEAD, BY A 59-36 VOTE, A SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT PROPOSED BY
SENATORS CASE, JAVITS, AND MOYNIHAN, GRANTING THE PRESIDENT
AUTHORITY TO UNILATERALLY SUSPEND SANCTIONS IF HE DETER-
MINES THAT (A) THE INTERNAL PARTIES HAVE COMMITTED THEM-
SELVES TO ATTEND, AND NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH AT, A MEETING
OF ALL RHODESIAN PARTIES, AND (B) FREE ELECTIONS OPEN TO

ALL GROUPS HAVE BEEN HELD IN RHODESIA WITH IMPARTIAL INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION. ALTHOUGH SENATOR HELMS, THE ORIGINAL PROPOSER OF THE MOVE TO LIFT SANCTIONS IMMEDIATELY, WITHDREW HIS OWN AMENDMENT WITHOUT A VOTE, A SIMILAR AMENDMENT INTRODUCED BY DANFORTH, WHICH WOULD HAVE HAD THE SAME INTENT AND PRACTICAL EFFECT, WAS DEFEATED BY A VOTE OF 54-42. THUS, IT CAN BE SAID THAT THE HELMS APPROACH WAS FORMALLY REJECTED BY THE SENATE. IT WAS AFTER THAT VOTE THAT HELMS WITHDREW HIS AMENDMENT.

2. WHILE THE CASE AMENDMENT IS CLEARLY LESS OBJECTIONABLE TO THE ADMINISTRATION THAN THE HELMS APPROACH, IT NEVERTHELESS TO LIFT SANCTIONS UNILATERALLY IF A SUCCESSFUL ELECTION IS HELD UNDER THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT AND WILL LIKELY BE VIEWED BY MANY AFRICAN STATES AS A TILT IN FAVOR OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. FOR THIS REASON IT WAS NOT SUPPORTED BY THE ADMINISTRATION. IT DOES, HOWEVER, CONTAIN PROVISIONS WHICH ARE NOT INCONSISTENT WITH ADMINISTRATION POLICY BY ENCOURAGING AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING AND STIPULATING THAT THERE SHOULD BE FREE ELECTIONS OPEN TO ALL PARTIES UNDER INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION. FINALLY, THE CASE AMENDMENT LEAVES IT TO THE PRESIDENT TO DETERMINE WHEN THE REQUISITE CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN MET.

3. WE ANTICIPATE THAT SIMILAR AMENDMENTS ARE LIKELY TO ARISE WHEN THE HOUSE DEBATES THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE BILL

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NEXT WEEK, AND WE WILL AGAIN BE EXPRESSING FIRM OPPOSITION TO ANY EXTREME AMENDMENTS SIMILAR TO HELMS. ALTHOUGH THE ADMINISTRATION HAS SEVERAL STRONG SUPPORTERS IN THE HOUSE, THE OUTCOME OF A DEBATE THERE ON RHODESIA IS STILL VERY UNCERTAIN. THEREAFTER, ANY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HOUSE AND SENATE BILLS WILL HAVE TO BE RESOLVED IN CONFERENCE.

4. WHILE FORMAL DEMARCHE TO AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS ARE NOT NECESSARY, POSTS SHOULD BE AWARE OF DEPARTMENT'S POSITION ON SENATE VOTES AND SHOULD DRAW UPON STATEMENT BELOW IN CONVERSATIONS WITH HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND CITIZENS. IN PARTICULAR, CONVERSATIONS SHOULD STRESS THAT SENATE:

-- AS REJECTED EXTREME MEASURE OF UNILATERALLY LIFTING SANCTIONS IMMEDIATELY;

-- HAS EXPRESSED DESIRE OF AMERICAN PEOPLE TO SEE PEACE, MAJORITY RULE, AND INDEPENDENCE BROUGHT TO ZIMBABWE; AND

-- HAS ENDORSED ANGLO-AMERICAN EFFORT TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER AT AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING WHICH WOULD NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT LEADING TO FAIR AND FREE ELECTIONS UNDER IM-

PARTIAL INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION.

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE CASE/JAVITS AMENDMENT:

SECTION 5 OF THE UNITED NATIONS PARTICIPATION ACT OF 1945
IS AMENDED--(1) BY STRIKING OUT THE SECOND AND THIRD
SENTENCES OF THE SUBSECTION A AND INSERTING IN LIEU THERE-
OF THE FOLLOWING:

NO EXECUTIVE ORDER WHICH WAS ISSUED UNDER THIS SUBSECTION
BEFORE THE DATE OF ENACTMENT OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
AUTHORIZATION ACT, FISCAL YEAR 1979, AND WHICH APPLIED
MEASURES AGAINST RHODESIA PURSUANT TO ANY RESOLUTION OF
THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL MAY BE ENFORCEABLE
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BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF FISCAL YEAR 1980, PROVIDED THAT
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES DETERMINES THAT:

(A) THE GOVERNMENT OF RHODESIA HAS COMMITTED ITSELF TO
PARTICIPATE IN, AND NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH, AT AN ALL-
PARTIES CONFERENCE HELD UNDER INTERNATIONAL AUSPICES ON
ALL RELEVANT ISSUES, INCLUDING THE TERMS OF MAJORITY RULE
AND THE PROTECTION OF MINORITY RIGHTS, THE ANGLO-AMERICAN
PLAN, AND THE TERMS OF THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT; AND

(B) A GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN INSTALLED, CHOSEN BY FREE ELEC-
TIONS IN WHICH ALL POPULATION GROUPS HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO
PARTICIPATE FREELY, WITH OBSERVATION BY IMPARTIAL, INTER-
NATIONALLY-RECOGNIZED OBSERVERS.

END TEXT.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DEPARTMENT'S STATEMENT REGARDING
SENATE VOTE:

WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE SENATE REJECTION OF THE EXTREME
APPROACH ADVOCATED BY SENATOR HELMS AND OTHERS WHICH
WOULD HAVE REQUIRED THE UNITED STATES TO VIOLATE ITS INTER-
NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS BY LIFTING SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA.
THIS WOULD HAVE SERIOUSLY WEAKENED OUR POSITION OF IMPAR-
TIALITY AMONG THE FACTIONS INVOLVED IN RHODESIA, AND
THEREFORE OUR ABILITY TO ADVANCE THE NEGOTIATING EFFORT.

WHILE WE CANNOT SUPPORT LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD HAVE THE
UNITED STATES IGNORE ITS INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS BY UNI-
LATERALLY LIFTING SANCTIONS, WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE THRUST
OF THE CASE/JAVITS AMENDMENT IS CONSISTENT WITH THE GOALS
OF OUR RHODESIA POLICY. THOSE GOALS ARE TO FIRST BRING
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ABOUT A MEETING OF ALL THE PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE AT WHICH
A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT CAN BE ACHIEVED, AND, SECONDLY, TO
HELP THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO ELECT
THEIR OWN LEADERS IN FAIR AND FREE ELECTIONS UNDER IMPAR-
TIAL SUPERVISION.

END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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